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FM AMEMBASSY SANTIAGO

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AMEMBASSY MADRID

USCINCSO QUARRY HEIGHTS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 SANTIAGO 01748

E.O. 12356: DECL: OADR

TAGS: PGOV, MASS, IR, CI

SUBJ: "IRAN-CORFO" SCANDAL

REF: SANTIAGO 1544 N

1. (C) SUMMARY: THE CHILEAN MEDIA HAS FOCUSED ATTENTION ON A CURIOUS PINCHET REGIME "SCANDAL" INVOLVING EMBARRASSING ALLEGATIONS ABOUT 1985-86 GOC ATTEMPTS TO SELL CLUSTER BOMBS TO IRAN. IT IS A TALE REPLET WITH INTRIGUE, THEFT, DOUBLE CRASSES AND BACKROOM MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR SHADY DEALS. TERMED THE "IRAN-CORFO" AFFAIR, THE SCANDAL PROVIDES A FASCINATING LOOK INTO GOC VENTURES INTO THE INTERNATIONAL ARMS MARKET, AND ITS ALLEGED TOXIC WASTE PLANT CONCESSION IN NORTHERN CHILE TO A FRENCH ARMS DEALER IN EXCHANGE FOR

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HIS BROKERAGE SERVICES. ENTERPRISING PRESS ATTEMPTS TO LINK THE USG TO SOME OF THE TRANSACTIONS ARE NOT SUBSTANTIATED BY THE DETAILED DOCUMENTATION, AND THE INVOLVED DETAILS OF THE AFFAIR HAVE FOR THE MOST PART BEEN LOST ON THE CHILEAN PUBLIC.

SUMMARY.

2. (C) DETAILS SURROUNDING THE CHILEAN ARMY'S DISASTROUS EFFORTS TO SELL CLUSTER BOMBS AND F-5 AIRCRAFT TO IRAN HAVE RECEIVED EXTENSIVE PRESS PLAY IN THE CHILEAN MEDIA. TERMED THE "IRAN-CORFO" SCANDAL BY THE LOCAL

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PRESS. THE REPORTS ALLEGE THAT SENIOR PINOCHET ADMINISTRATION OFFICIALS MANUFACTURED AND SOLD IRAN DEFECTIVE CLUSTER BOMBS, AND THEN, IN AN ATTEMPT TO COMPENSATE EDUARDO STROIAZZO, AN INTERNATIONAL ARMS MERCHANT WHO BROKERED THE DEAL, AWARDED A MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR CONCESSION TO CONSTRUCT A TOXIC WASTE RECYCLING PLANT ON CHILEAN TERRITORY. THE CHILEAN PUBLIC'S OUTCRY AGAINST PLANS FOR A SIMILAR PLANT AND PINOCHET'S OWN POLITICAL CAMPAIGN TO REMAIN IN POWER LED THE GOC TO RENEGE ON THE DEAL. STROIAZZO RESPONDED BY INITIATING A REPORTED U.S. DOLLARS 500 MILLION CIVIL SUIT AGAINST THE CHILEAN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (CORFO), WHICH NEGOTIATED THE DEAL, AND BY GOING PUBLIC WITH THE DETAILS OF THE STORY.

3. (C) CHRISTIAN DEMOCRATIC (PDC)-LINKED RADIO COOPERATIVA BROKE THE "IRAN-CORFO" STORY IN EARLY FEBRUARY. IT WAS LATER FEATURED IN THE MAJOR SANTIAGO  
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DAILIES "LA EPoca" (A REPRINT OF SPANISH DAILY "EL MUNDO'S" FIVE PART STORY) AND LEADING CONSERVATIVE DAILY "EL MERCURIO," AS WELL AS BY SEVERAL WEEKLY MAGAZINES, INCLUDING PDC-ORIENTED "HOY." GILBERTO VILLARDEL, ASSOCIATED WITH RADIO COOPERATIVA, "HOY" AND "EL MUNDO," TOLD POLOFFS HE RECEIVED THE DETAILS OF THE STORY LAST DECEMBER. HE RESPECTED STROIAZZO'S REQUEST NOT TO BREAK IT PENDING THE OUTCOME OF STROIAZZO'S NEGOTIATION WITH THE CHILEAN AUTHORITIES. STROIAZZO APPARENTLY SOUGHT TO OBTAIN BARGAINING LEVERAGE WITH THE GOC IN SUPPORT OF HIS MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR CLAIM.

4. (U) THE PLOT: A CHRONOLOGY OF THE "IRAN-CORFO" AFFAIR AS REPORTED IN THE MEDIA, BASED LARGELY ON STROIAZZO'S ACCOUNT, FOLLOWS:

--SOMETIME IN THE MID-1980'S, THE CHILEAN ARMY MILITARY INDUSTRIES FACTORY (FAMAE) STEALS THE EXCLUSIVE TECHNOLOGY FOR MANUFACTURING CLUSTER BOMBS FROM CHILEAN ARMS CZAR CARLOS CARDEN'S MULTINATIONAL FIRM (CARDEN WAS ALREADY SELLING CLUSTER BOMBS TO IRAQ AND CONTINUES TO PURSUE A CIVIL CASE AGAINST FAMAE FOR PATENT INFRINGEMENT) AND BEGINS MANUFACTURE OF THEM.

--IN OCTOBER 1985, FERRIMAR, A FAMAE AFFILIATED COMPANY, AGREES TO SELL IRAN 500 CLUSTER BOMBS AT U.S. DOLLARS 14,000 EACH (COST TO CHILEANS WAS U.S. DOLLARS 2,500 PER BOMB). THE IRANIANS INITIAL SEVEN MILLION DOLLAR PAYMENT IS DIVIDED AMONG FERRIMAR AND A NUMBER OF MIDDLEMEN INVOLVED IN THE SALE.

--DURING EARLY 1986 ON TWO SEPARATE TEST RUNS IN IRAN, THE CLUSTER BOMBS PROVE DEFECTIVE, DESTROYING ONE IRANIAN  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 04 SANTIAGO 01748

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PHANTOM JET AND NEARLY KILLING THE HEAD OF THE IRANIAN AIR FORCE WHO PARTICIPATED IN THE DEMONSTRATION. AFTER THE SECOND INCIDENT, THE IRANIAN AUTHORITIES TAKE MIDDLEMAN STROIAZZO AND SEVERAL CHILEAN TECHNICIANS HOSTAGE PENDING FINANCIAL COMPENSATION FOR IRANIAN LOSSES. --IN SPRING OF 1987, THE GUC OFFERS TO REPLACE DESTROYED IRANIAN F-4 JET WITH A CHILEAN F-5 ON CONDITION THAT IRAN PURCHASE AN ADDITIONAL U.S. 200 MILLION DOLLAR PACKAGE OF WEAPONS INCLUDING MORE CLUSTER BOMBS AND 15 ADDITIONAL F-5 AIRCRAFT. THE DEAL IS COMPLICATED BECAUSE THE CHILEANS ARE UNABLE TO SECURE USG AUTHORIZATION FOR F-5

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SALE.

--IN SEPTEMBER 1987, FAMAE HEAD, COLONEL CARLOS CARRENO, IS MYSTERIOUSLY KIDNAPPED BY THE MANUEL RODRIGUEZ PATRIOTIC FRONT (FPMR) TERRORIST GROUP THREE DAYS BEFORE LEAVING FOR TEHRAN FOR DISCUSSIONS ON FINALIZING THE F-5 DEAL, ALLEGEDLY BY COVERT MEANS. THE F-5 DEAL FALLS APART. CARRENO APPEARS THREE MONTHS LATER IN BRAZIL UNHARMED, ROSARY IN HAND, UNWILLING TO PROVIDE DETAILS OF HIS ABDUCTION.

--STROIAZZO ESCAPES FROM CAPTIVITY IN AUGUST 1987. SHORTLY THEREAFTER, HE BEGINS NEGOTIATIONS WITH CHILEAN AUTHORITIES FOR FINANCIAL COMPENSATION FOR IRAN AND FOR HIMSELF. GENERAL HUGO SALAS, THEN HEAD OF THE CHILEAN INTERNAL SECURITY APPARATUS, THE NATIONAL INFORMATION

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CENTER (CNI), ENTERS THE PICTURE IN MID-1988 BY OFFERING STROIAZZO A MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR CONCESSION IN THE NORTHERN CHILEAN DESERT FOR THE CONSTRUCTION OF A TOXIC WASTE RECYCLING PLANT, AS THE BASIS FOR A "NEGOTIATED" SOLUTION TO THE CLUSTER BOMB COMPLICATIONS. . . . .  
 --IN DECEMBER 1988, STROIAZZO SIGNS A "PRE-CONTRACT" WITH THE CHILEAN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION (CORFO) FOR CONSTRUCTION OF THE PLANT. PUBLIC OUTCRY AGAINST A SIMILAR WASTE PLANT IN THE NORTH ALERTS GOVERNMENT ON "SENSITIVITY" OF THE ISSUE; ELECTORAL CONCERNS BEFORE THE OCTOBER 1988 PLEBISCITE AND AFTERWARDS THE DECEMBER 1989 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION LEAD GOC TO BACK AWAY FROM THE AGREEMENT WITH STROIAZZO.

--IN FEBRUARY 1990, STROIAZZO, GETTING NOWHERE WITH NEGOTIATIONS, FILES MULTIMILLION DOLLAR LEGAL SUIT

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 (DAMAGES REPORTEDLY INCLUDE THE 492 MILLION DOLLARS PROJECTED PROFITS IN THE WASTE PLANT PROJECT PLUS COMPENSATION FOR HIS EIGHTEEN MONTHS OF INCARCERATION).  
 5. (U) THE CAST OF CHARACTERS: BASED PRIMARILY ON STROIAZZO'S ACCOUNT AND THE DOCUMENTATION HE RELEASED TO VILLAGUEL THE PRINCIPAL PLAYERS, BESIDES STROIAZZO, INCLUDE:

--DINO SEFERIAN: A ROMANIAN-ARGENTINIAN OF ARMENIAN ORIGIN, SEFERIAN IS THE PRESIDENT OF SPANISH FIRMS CIC INTERNATIONAL AND CIC IBERIA, KNOWN PLAYERS IN THE INTERNATIONAL ARMS TRADE. IN MID-1985, SEFERIAN SETS UP FERRIMAR INTERNATIONAL (A PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN HIMSELF AND FERRIMAR) TO ACT AS AN AGENT FOR FERRIMAR'S SALES TO IRAN.

--FERNANDO PEREZ GARCIA: DIRECTOR GENERAL OF MILTEC, A CHILEAN FIRM DEDICATED TO SELLING FERRIMAR PRODUCTS. PEREZ WAS INSTRUMENTAL IN ARRANGING A LETTER OF GUARANTEE FOR FERRIMAR FROM CORFO (SEE BELOW) AFTER THE BANK OF CHILE REFUSED THE 2 BILLION US DOLLAR LETTER OF CREDIT REQUIRED FOR THE EXPORT OF BOMBS TO IRAN. WHEN THE IRANIANS MAKE THEIR INITIAL PAYMENT OF 7 MILLION DOLLARS, MILTEC KEEPS THE LION'S SHARE. BESIDES STROIAZZO, PEREZ IS THE MOST VISIBLE PARTICIPANT IN THE IRAN-CORFO AFFAIR.

--COLONEL WALTER DORNER: CHILEAN ARMY OFFICER HIRED BY MILTEC TO SECURE CORFO LETTER OF GUARANTEE. DORNER IS CLOSE FRIENDS WITH COLONEL GUILLERMO LETELIER, WHO REPLACES FERNANDO HORMAZABAL AS CORFO VICE PRESIDENT SHORTLY AFTER THE BANK RECEIVES THE GUARANTEE. (IT IS LATER DISCOVERED THAT HORMAZABAL'S SIGNATURE ON THE LETTER IS FRAUDULENT. AN EMPLOYEE OF THE BANK OF CHILE

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IS FIRED, BUT THE ISSUE FAILS TO DERAIL THE PROJECT.)

--COLONEL GUILLERMO LETELIER: BESIDES HIS ROLE IN THE FINANCING OF THE PROJECT, LETELIER WILL LATER PROVIDE STROIAZZO WITH THE TOXIC WASTE PLANT CONCESSION IN HIS CAPACITY AS VICE-PRESIDENT OF CORFO. THE "EL MUNDO" ARTICLE SUGGESTS THAT LETELIER ACTED UNDER DIRECT ORDERS FROM GENERAL HUGO SALAS, THE THEN DIRECTOR OF CHI.

--GENERAL HUGO SALAS: IT IS NOT CLEAR WHY SALAS BECAME INVOLVED. HE CONTACTED STROIAZZO IN JULY 1988 AND INVITED HIM TO CHILE FOR A DISCUSSION OF THE MATTER.

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SALAS ALLEGEDLY SAW THE TOXIC WASTE PLANT AS A CONVENIENT WAY TO COMPENSATE STROIAZZO (AND KEEP HIM QUIET) AND REIMBURSE THE IRANIANS.

--LIEUTENANT COLONEL CARLOS CARRENO: CARRENO WAS BUSINESS MANAGER OF FAMA when he first met STROIAZZO IN MARCH 1986. AFTER STROIAZZO IS TAKEN HOSTAGE, CARRENO ATTEMPTS TO REPLACE THE FRENCHMAN WITH BERNARD VAN DE MEER, A CHILEAN RESIDENT IN LONDON WHO IS THE SON-IN-LAW OF GENERAL RAMON VEGA, THE SECOND RANKING OFFICER IN THE CHILEAN AIR FORCE. IT IS CARRENO WHO, IN A JULY 1987 SANTIAGO MEETING WITH STROIAZZO AND AN IRANIAN REPRESENTATIVE, PRESENTS THE PROPOSAL TO SELL THE IRANIANS 15 F-5S IN ADDITION TO THE F-5 REPLACEMENT FOR THE LOST IRANIAN PHANTOM. ACCORDING TO THE "EL MUNDO"

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ARTICLE, CARRENO'S OFFER WAS ANYTHING BUT FIRM. THE SALE OF CHILEAN F-55 TO IRAN, LABELED OPERATION FOXTROT, HAD OPENED UP A BIG DEBATE WITHIN THE CHILEAN AIR FORCE; THOSE OFFICERS CLOSEST TO PINOCHET REPORTEDLY FAVOR THE SALE, WHILE OTHERS OPPOSE REDUCING CHILEAN AIR STRENGTH BY 40 PERCENT AND COMPLETELY BREAKING TIES WITH THE U.S. PENTAGON. EVEN THOUGH THE F-5 NEGOTIATIONS WERE PRETTY MUCH DEAD IN JUNE 1987, CARRENO CONTINUES TO PUSH THE DEAL ALL SUMMER. IN AUGUST 1987, CARRENO PROMISES TO TRAVEL TO IRAN PERSONALLY TO CLOSE THE DEAL. MEANWHILE U.S. OFFICIALS, LEARNING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, BEGIN TO PRESS THE GOC. OPPONENTS TO THE F-5 SALE WITHIN THE GOC ARE SUCCESSFUL IN BLOCKING THE DEAL. CARRENO'S KIDNAPPING IN SEPTEMBER 1988 DEFINITELY DERAILS THE DEAL.

--CESAR HIDALGO AND JAIME ALONSO: HIDALGO, A CHILEAN, AND ALONSO, A SPANISH LAWYER WITH TIES TO A SPANISH

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FACIST ORGANIZATION, NEW FORCE, CONTACT STROIAZZO IN MID-1988 AND OFFER TO USE THEIR HIGH LEVEL CONTACTS IN THE GOC TO ARRANGE COMPENSATION. HIDALGO AND ALONSO REPORTEDLY EXPLAIN THEIR INTEREST IN THE CASE AS A WAY OF GENERATING FUNDS TO SUPPORT CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN THE CHILEAN MILITARY. THE ARTICLES SUGGEST THAT HIDALGO WAS KEY IN BRINGING GENERAL SALAS INTO THE PICTURE. WHEN STROIAZZO SETS UP "WERE," THE COMPANY WHICH WILL CONSTRUCT THE TOXIC WASTE PLANT, HIDALGO AND ALONSO ARE GIVEN 50 PERCENT OF ITS OWNERSHIP.

--PEDRO FELIX DE AGUIRRE: A CHILEAN LAWYER, AGUIRRE AND PEREZ MEET WITH STROIAZZO IN OCTOBER 1989 AND PROPOSE TO NEGOTIATE OPERATION FOXTROT AND WERE'S CONCESSION FOR US 25 MILLION DOLLARS. AGUIRRE AND PEREZ ASSURE STROIAZZO THAT THEY ARE SUPPORTED BY HIGH RANKING CHILEAN MILITARY FIGURES CLOSE TO PINOCHET INCLUDING, GENERAL JORGE BALLERINO, GENERAL JAIME LUCAZ, AND BRIGADIER GENERAL GUILLERMO GARRIN.

6. (U) THICKENING THE PLOT: JOURNALISTS COVERING THE STORY HAVE ATTEMPTED TO LINK CHILEAN/IRANIAN TRANSACTIONS TO USG DEALINGS WITH IRAN DURING SAME PERIOD. FOR INSTANCE, THEY ALLEGE THE CHILEANS USED THE SAME BOEING 707 PLANE THAT DELIVERED USG WEAPONS TO IRAN TO TRANSPORT THEIR CLUSTER BOMB CARGO TO THE IRANIANS, AND THAT STROIAZZO, AND HIS CHILEAN ASSOCIATES MET IN TEHRAN (TO INFORM THEM OF THEIR OPERATION) WITH COLONEL OLIVER NORTH AND NSC ADVISOR ROBERT MCFARLANE, TO SECURE RELEASE OF U.S. HOSTAGES. THE "IRAN-CORFO" STORY IS REplete WITH MELODRAMATIC "IRAN-CONTRA" ANECDOTES, TALES OF POWER STRUGGLES WITHIN THE CHILEAN ARMED FORCES AND REPORTS

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THAT THE U.S. STATE DEPARTMENT PRESSURED THE GOC NOT TO

SELL IRAN F-5 AIRCRAFT. ASIDE FROM THE INTRIGUE AND

INSIGHT INTO CHILEAN ARMY MACHINATIONS AND DOUBLE

DEALINGS, HOWEVER, THE ARTICLE REVEALS LITTLE BEYOND WHAT

WAS PREVIOUSLY PUBLISHED PIECEMEAL ABOUT THE CLUSTER BOMB

SALES TO IRAN AND THE GOC'S APPARENT WILLINGNESS TO "GIVE

AWAY" NATIONAL TERRITORY FOR A TOXIC WASTE PLANT.

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